

THE KEYNOTER



LEADER ALTGELD AND HIS MASK.

The Forgotten Eagle: Altgeld of Illinois

A Scandal in the Grand Army of the Republic ♦ FDR's Birthday Balls

Editor's Message

Altgeld of Illinois. I confess that when I first pulled Jim Kotche's article out of a large brown envelope, I had not really heard of this warrior in the bitter struggles between Capital and Labor at the turn of the century. Almost exactly a century ago, America shuddered in a clash of class conflict. From today's perspective, with our daily diet of superstars, it is hard to appreciate what the word "hero" meant in 1896.

John P. Altgeld is a hero. He may or may not prove to be one of yours but to the radical farmers and labor activists of his day, he proved to be "Fearless and True."

I'm sure many Altgeld activists were still around when FDR became president. In his article on the "Birthday Balls", Dr. Edmund B. Sullivan takes a deeper look into the disease that struck Roosevelt and so many others.

Harold Mailman may never be as well known as Bob Woodward but APIC member Mailman's research unearthed a scandal in the manufacturing of the Grand Army of the Republic's badge. The political power of this veteran's organization is reflected in the Tanner ribbon on page 17. Sadly, the bad faith revealed in Harold Mailman's article is not the first time the Republic failed to keep faith with her veterans.



Michael Kelly
Editor

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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Covers: Front: The cover of the July 18, 1896 issue of Harper's Weekly.

Back: Sheet Music honoring Illinois Governor John P. Altgeld.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE



1995 marks of 50th Anniversary of the American Political Items Collectors. The Fall Keynoter will be devoted primarily to a look back over five decades in which the field of Political Americana grew from the shoebox to the museum.

THE FORGOTTEN EAGLE

The Campaigns of John Peter Altgeld

Illinois' First Liberal Governor (1893-1897)

By Jim Kotche

It is the curious nature of time that the champions and demons of one generation become the nostalgia of the next and are forgotten by those who come even later. Men and women who shook society and sent thousands into the streets shouting their names in praise or anger are destined to become footnotes in a scholar's text. So it was with one of the most beloved – and hated – figures of America's transition from the 19th to the 20th century: Governor John Altgeld of Illinois.

Except for his not being a native-born American (as required in the Constitution), he well might have become a president or, at least, a presidential nominee. As it was, he was one of the critical figures of his era.

John Peter Altgeld was born December 30, 1847 in Neider Selters, Germany to Mary and John Peter Altgeld. When he was three months old they moved to Mansfield, Ohio where he grew up working on the family farm. He had only three terms in a country school before enlisting in a 100-day regiment during the Civil War. When he returned home he went to high school for one term and to a select school for three months to qualify for a teacher's certificate. At 21 he left home and went to Kansas where he worked on the railroad. From there he

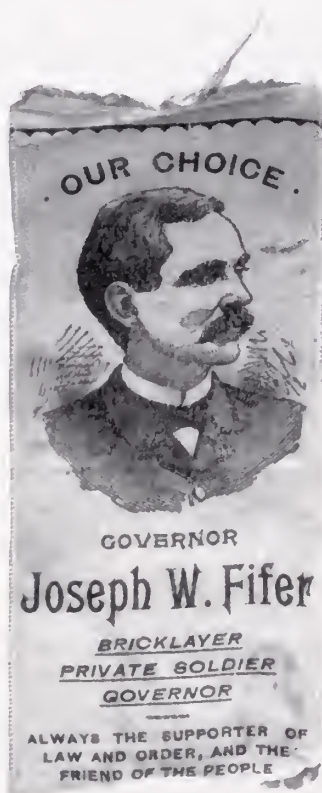


went to Missouri where he found a teaching job. Trying his hand at politics, and backed by the Grange, he was elected county prosecutor, a position he held for only one year before leaving for Chicago.

In Chicago Altgeld opened a law office and slept in it until he became solvent. After saving \$500, he began buying and selling real estate. His ambition was to own a major Chicago building. That did not happen until 1891 when he built the Unity Block, 12 stories high. In 1884 Altgeld ran for congress in a heavily Republican district where he lost but did better than the previous Democratic candidate. He wrote and had published many essays in the local papers and also a couple of books, *Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims*, and *Live Questions*. In 1885 he went to Springfield hopeful that the legislature would elect him U.S. Senator. Instead Republican John A. Logan was elected. In 1886 the United Labor Party in a coalition with Democrats elected Altgeld a judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. In 1891 he sent Clarence Darrow to Springfield to again try to obtain a U.S. Senate seat. He lost to John M. Palmer the Democratic Party's endorsed candidate and future Altgeld enemy.

In 1896, John M. Palmer would become the presidential nominee of the Gold Democrats, bolting the Democratic Party of William Jennings Bryan and Free Silver in favor of the Gold Standard and Cleveland Democracy. Coattail campaign items not only exist linking Altgeld to Grover Cleveland and William Bryan, there is at least one ribbon linking Altgeld with Palmer.

After five years as a judge he resigned to run for Governor. He ran as a law and order candidate, and was nominated on the first ballot at the Democratic state convention. Altgeld started his campaign in early summer, well in advance of the normal September start. He blamed his opponent, Governor Joseph W. Fifer, for the 1889 compulsory education law that Altgeld himself had helped pass but which turned out to be unpopular among German Lutheran and Catholic farmers who needed the help in the fields. Leading the state ticket, Altgeld defeated Fifer by 22,872 votes; 425,558 to 402,686. After six months of non-stop campaigning, the governor-elect chose to continue the hectic pace by accepting as many invitations to dinners and receptions as he could. Exhausted and suffering from a cold, he went to



Altgeld won the governorship of Illinois by defeating incumbent Governor Joseph W. Fifer.

Springfield for the swearing-in ceremony so weak he had to be assisted by Governor Fifer and only read the opening paragraphs of his inaugural speech. He later attended a reception so large that vice president-elect Adlai E. Stevenson could not get into the room.

In January 1893 Vachel Lindsay was just thirteen years old, living next door to the governors mansion. On that particular morning he was watching as the Illinois national guard came to escort governor-elect Altgeld to the inauguration. Altgeld had been very ill during the last stages of the campaign and was still rather weak. As he mounted his horse, it threw him and rolled over on top of him. The guardsmen rushed to help, but he waived them away, remounted his horse and led the procession to the inaugural. Vachel Lindsay had adopted a hero. Many years later after Altgeld's death he was to write the following poem.

THE EAGLE THAT IS FORGOTTEN

(John P. Altgeld. Born December 30, 1847; Died March 12, 1902)

*Sleep softly...eagle forgotten...under the stone
Time has its way with you there, and the clay has its own.*

*"We have buried him now," thought your foes, and in secret rejoiced.
They have made a brave show of their mourning, their hatred unvoiced.
They had snarled at you, barked at you, foamed at you, day after day.
Now you were ended. They praised you,...and laid you away.*

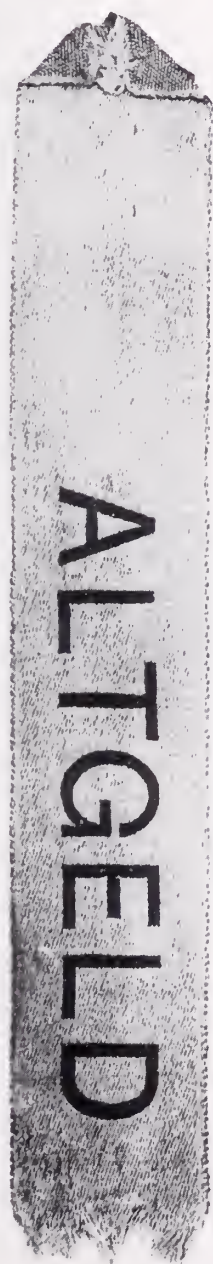
*The others that mourned you in silence and terror and truth,
The widow bereft of her pittance, the boy without youth,
The mocked and the scorned and the wounded, the lame and the poor
That should have remembered forever,...remember no more.*

*Where are those lovers of yours, on what name do they call
The lost, that in armies wept over your funeral pall?
They call on the names of a hundred high-valiant ones,
A hundred white eagles have risen, the sons of your sons,
The zeal in their wings is a zeal that your dreaming began,
The valor that wore out your soul in the service of man.
Sleep softly,...eagle forgotten,...under the stone,
Time has its way with you there, and the clay has its own.*

*Sleep on, O brave-hearted, O wise man, that kindled the flame-
To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name,
To live in mankind, far, far more...than to live in a name.*

-Vachel Lindsay

A selection of Altgeld campaign ribbons.





THE HAYMARKET SQUARE PARDONS

Perhaps the most defining act Altgeld performed as governor was the June 23, 1893 pardon of the three unchanged anarchists imprisoned for the Haymarket bombing. From that point on he was vilified in the press and magazines such as *Judge* and *Puck*. He was pictured as a wild eyed, knife wielding anarchist ready to commit murder. The Chicago Tribune dubbed him John "Pardon" Altgeld.

The roots of this controversy go back to the Depression of 1885-86 which had sparked a revival of the anarchist movement.

Demands for an eight hour day once again were voiced loudly throughout the country. In Chicago, Cyrus H. McCormick Jr. had replaced his father as president of the large McCormick Harvester plant and refused to fire five nonunion workers. On May 1, 1886 a general strike of organized workers began in Chicago. When the McCormick officials began to import outside workers, riots occurred. In many cases, Pinkertons were used as strikebreakers, and were especially hated by the workers as they were also used to assist the police. Every railroad in the city shut down, freight houses were closed, and very few Chicago industries were operating.

On May 3, 1886 the Lumber Shovers Union held a meeting about a half a mile from the gates at Harvester. August Spies, editor of the semi-anarchist labor paper, *Die*



When it came time for poet Lindsay to eulogize another noted Midwestern insurgent Democrat, he wrote "Bryan, Bryan, Bryan, Bryan." This is a work that Professor Roger Fischer describes as "his best work and arguably the finest of all American political poetry." The conclusion of this poem cites Altgeld again, clearly using him as a measure of immortality:

"Where is Altgeld, brave as the truth,
Whose name the few still say with tears?
Gone to join the ironies with Old John Brown,
Whose fame rings loud for a thousand years.

Where is that boy, that Heaven-born Bryan,
That Homer Bryan who sang from the West?
Gone to join the shadows with Altgeld the Eagle,
Where the kings and the slaves and the troubadours rest."

In 1892 Altgeld ran on a Democratic ticket headed by Grover Cleveland. The nominee for vice president was Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. All three Democrats won.



Arbeiter Zeitung, was addressing them when the noon whistle blew and non-striking workers began to leave. They were rushed by some of the pickets and fell back. Others left the crowd and ran towards the factory. Several shots rang out and a policeman was wounded. Detachments of police arrived on the scene and opened fire on the fleeing crowd which had remained to hear Spies. Five or six people were shot and killed. Spies angered by the attack issued circulars calling for "REVENGE! Working Men to Arms!!!" and announced a meeting for the evening of May 4 at Haymarket Square. The circular was written in both English and German.

Around 1,500 people showed up for the meeting including Mayor Carter H. Harrison who noted that the crowd was small and unarmed, so he left. Shortly thereafter 180 policemen under Captain William Ward and Police Inspector John Bonfield marched on the meeting demanding they disperse. Some unknown person lobbed a bomb into the line of police and it exploded within their ranks. Shots rang out from both sides and a battle ensued. When it was over Officer Mathias Degnan was dead and 60 other policemen and 12 civilians were injured.

The press headlines screamed for punishment; a witch hunt of sorts began. Homes were invaded without warrant and ransacked for evidence; suspects were beaten and tortured by the police while others were bribed. Eight so-called anarchists were eventually charged; Albert Parsons, Samuel Fielden, August Spies, Michael Schwab, Louis Lingg, Oscar Neebe, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer. Only Fielden has been at the meeting at the time of the explosion.

The trial under Judge Joseph E. Gary had a total disregard for any civil guarantees and was exactly what the newspapers were demanding. All were sentenced to death except Neebe who was sentenced to fifteen years. The execution date was set for November 11. Governor Richard J. Oglesby offered to commute the sentences to life imprisonment was turned down by all except Schwab and Fielden. Lingg committed suicide by exploding a dynamite cap with his teeth. The rest were hung on schedule. In the years following the execution, the cause of the remaining Haymarket prisoners became identified with labors struggles.

At the time of the trial, Altgeld was a judge and stated that he could not comment on the case. Later, as a gubernatorial candidate, he continued to refuse comment. Republican papers however felt the lack of comment meant he would pardon the men. The editor of the *Illinois State Journal* wrote: "Every vote for John P. Altgeld will be a vote for the pardon of the anarchists in Joliet Penitentiary" After he was elected Altgeld received pressure from various amnesty groups to release the prisoners. They sent Clarence Darrow to speak on their behalf. Darrow wrote that Altgeld deliberately replied,

Go tell your friends that when I am ready I will act. I don't know how I will act, but I will do what I think is right...But don't deceive yourself: if I conclude to pardon those men it will not meet with the approval that you expect; let me tell you from that day I will be a dead man."

Altgeld decided to review all the records of the Gary trial, a tremendous task. He obtained the help of his Secretary of Labor Statistics, George Schilling, in obtaining the records. During a conversation with Judge McConnell in the Governor's library, Altgeld pointed to a large stack of volumes, and remarked: "There is the record of the anarchist case. I have read every word of it and I have decided to pardon all three men and I want you to read my message."

When Secretary of State William H. Hinrichsen asked, "Do you think it good policy to pardon them? I do not." Altgeld replied "It is right". After the message had been delivered he told Hinrichsen, "You are younger than I and will live to see my pardon of the anarchists justified." On June 26, 1893 Altgeld issued a 18,000 word statement that in complete detail criticized the judge, jury, prosecution, and police, especially Judge Joseph E. Gary and Police Inspector John Bonfield. Altgeld covered five aspects of the trial which he felt deserved attention:



"Fearless and True" was how supporters described John Altgeld. He was a noted speaker of his time.

THE PULLMAN STRIKE

If the Haymarket Square pardons were to cripple Altgeld politically, the Pullman Strike would serve to leave his legacy on the Democratic Party. During the spring of 1894, the United Mine Workers of America inaugurated a national strike. In Illinois and other states, the militia was called upon to deal with the situations. This preceded one of the greatest labor conflicts in American; the Pullman Strike of 1894.

Established in 1867, the Pullman Car Company was a monopoly by rights of its patents during that era of railroad supremacy. In 1880, the company obtained 500 acres of land on which it built a model plant and town. The Depression of 1894 hurt the company's sales badly and company president George M. Pullman cut wages and fired employees. Salaries for the company's top officials remained unchanged. At the same time, rents were raised for workers living in the company town so that they were as much as 25% higher than similar housing in Chicago.

The average daily wage of a worker was about ninety cents and the monthly rent was between eleven and twelve dollars. On May 7th, a workmen's committee asked the company to return to the wage schedule of June, 1893. On May 10, when three of the committee were discharged for lack of work, the local unions voted to strike.

Two thousand men left their jobs the next day with the backing of the American Railway Union. The company then closed its doors and George Pullman left for the east. The Railroad Union was under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs.

On June 21, the Railway Union voted in convention to refrain from handling Pullman cars on and after June 26 unless Mr. Pullman would consent to arbitrate. Eugene Debs was the strategist of the strike, his instructions were laced with warnings against violence of any kind to prevent military intervention. On July 3, prior to President Cleveland's sending federal troops to Chicago, Carter Harrison Jr. of the *Times* wrote, "There has been no rioting in or about Chicago; no blood has been shed; no one has been killed; and were it not for the clamorous utterances of a number of Chicago newspapers, which at this time are anxious to foment trouble through distorted reports of the labor strike, the average citizen would affirm that the great city of Chicago was never in a more pacific mood than at present". Despite the fact that Governor Altgeld was sending troops to various points requested by local authorities, Attorney General Richard Olney decided to send federal troops to Chicago in spite of contrary constitutional provisions.

As the railroad strike spread over Illinois, Governor Altgeld (who had just quieted the problems that developed from a coal strike) was facing a similar situation with the rail roads. He was prepared to put 100,000 men in Chicago if necessary. On July 5, Altgeld sent a long telegram to President Cleveland explaining the situation in Chicago and Illinois. "The question of Federal supremacy is in no way involved. No one disputes it for a moment, but under our Constitution, Federal

Attention Workingmen!
MASS-MEETING
TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,
HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.
 Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest
 atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our
 fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.
Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Achtung Arbeiter!
Größe
Massen-Versammlung
Heute Abend, halb 8 Uhr, auf dem
Seumarkt, Randolph-Strasse, zwischen
Desplaines- u. Halsted-Str.
 Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schurkenstreich der Polizei,
 indem sie gestern-Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschossen, geißeln.
 Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!
Das Exekutiv-Comitee.

1. Was the jury packed? Yes! 2. Were the jurors legally competent? No! 3. Does the proof show guilt as charged in the indictment? No! 4. Is there any case against the defendant, Neebe? No! (The charge against Neebe is that he owned two dollars worth of stock in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* paper) 5. Did the judge grant a fair trial? No!

At 11:20 P.M. that day the prison gates opened for the three men. John Peter Altgeld, while still powerful, would never again serve in elected office. Voltairine DeCleyre wrote the following poem to commemorate Altgeld's message.

*A grating of the doors, and three poor men
 Helpless and hated, having naught to give,
 Came from their long-sealed tombs, look up and live,
 And thank this Man that they are free again!
 And he-to all the world this man dares say,
 "Curse as you will! I have been just this day."*

Later in life, when asked if he regretted the pardon he replied, "Never! Never! If I had the matter to act upon again tomorrow, I'd do it over again....I knew that in every civilized land, and especially in the United States, would ring out curses loud and bitter against me for what I did. I saw my duty and I did it. There was no evidence to convict those men....The trial was a farce."

supremacy and local self-government must go hand in hand, and to ignore the latter is to do violence to the Constitution. As Governor of the State of Illinois, I protest against this, and ask for the immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from active duty in this State. Should the situation at any time get so serious that we cannot control it with the State forces, we will promptly ask for Federal assistance, but until such time, I protest, with all due deference, against this uncalled-for reflection upon our people."

President Cleveland described the telegram as "frivolous" and stated the troops were sent to Chicago in order that obstruction of mails should be removed. Governor Altgeld replied at once to Cleveland, criticizing his stand and concluding: "This assumption as to the power of the executive is certainly new, and I respectfully submit that it is not the law of the land. The jurists have told us that this is a government of law, and not a government by the caprice of an individual and further, instead of being autocratic, it is a government of limited power. Yet the autocrat of Russia could certainly not possess, or claim to possess greater power than is possessed by the executive of the United States, if your assumption is correct."

Meanwhile other governors were finding federal intervention in their states as unwelcome as in Illinois. Governor James S. Hogg of Texas wired the President that he would not tolerate federal troops in his state unless consulted first and attacked the "order to invade Illinois." On July 7, the most serious event of the strike



occurred. A crowd had gathered to watch a wrecking crew overturn a box car. A regiment of state militia stood guard, and several shots were fired in their direction. When the commander ordered that the crowd disperse, it refused. The crowd rushed the soldiers, knocking down four of them and their lieutenant. Orders were then given to fire at will. Four men were killed and twenty others wounded.

In the meantime, George M. Pullman told the press that he opposed arbitration because it violated the principle of private property. The wage question was "settled by the law of supply and demand." On July 10, Attorney General Olney issued orders for the arrest of leading union officials (including Debs) for contempt of a court injunction. The strike was broken and Debs served six months in jail in Woodstock, Illinois.

Pleas from across the nation had failed to make Pullman show the slightest compassion for the hungry families. To see that Pullman families were fed, Altgeld asked the public for charitable contributions. Even the conservative industrialist Mark Hanna remarked during a speech to the Union League Club in Cleveland: "A man who won't meet his own men halfway is a goddamn fool!" At Altgeld's instigation, the State Board of Tax Equalization raised the Pullman Company's assessed valuation. He started action that ended Pullman's control of the company town. The Pullman Strike had notable repercussions in our history. It was the reason that Governor Altgeld wrote one of his famous planks in the Democratic platform of 1896 critical of "government by injunction" and federal intervention in industrial disputes.★

REVENGE!

Workingmen, to Arms!!!

Your masters sent out their bloodhound - the police -; they killed six of your brothers at McCormick's disco-rooms. They killed the poor wretches, because they, like you, had the courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them, because they dared ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you, 'Free American Citizens', that you must be satisfied and contented with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed!

You have for years endured the most abject humiliations, you have for years suffered unmeasured iniquities; you have worked yourself to death; you have endured the pangs of want and hunger, your Children you have sacrificed to the factory-lord - in short You have been miserable and obedient slave all these years: Why? To satisfy the insatiable greed, to fill the coffers of your lazy thieving master? When you ask them now to lessen your burden, he sends his bloodhounds out to shoot you, kill you!

If you are men, if you are the sons of your grand sire, who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise to your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms we call you, to arms!

Yours Brothers.

Rache! Rache!
Arbeiter, zu den Waffen!

[illegible]

Gute Bilder.

ALTGELD AND THE ELECTION OF 1896

by Jim Kotche

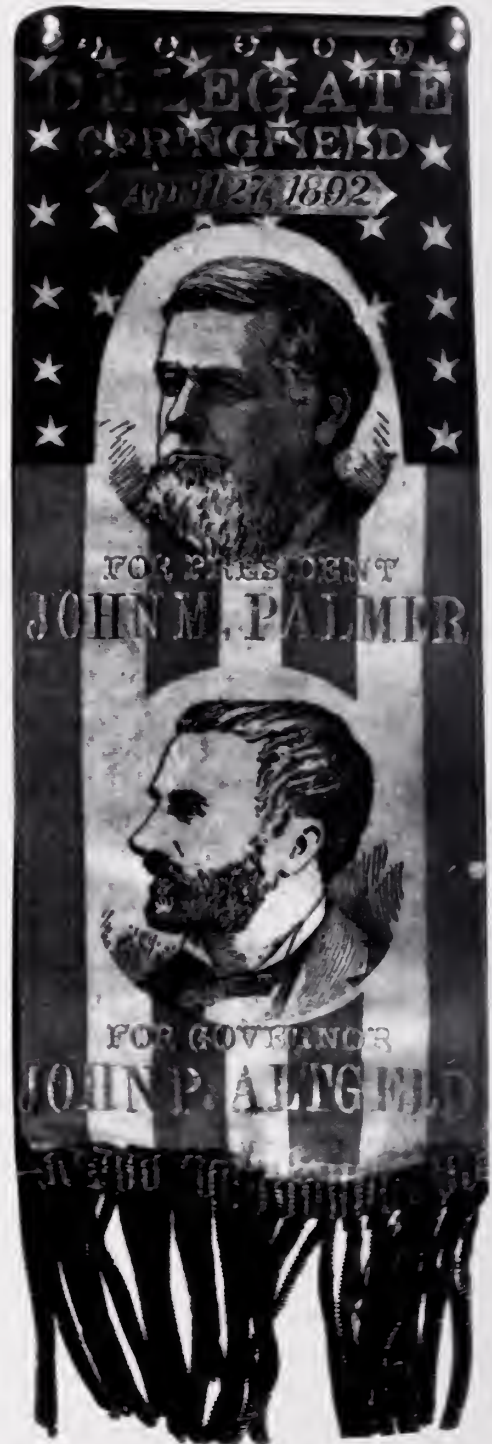
Governor John Peter Altgeld had no illusions about being re-elected governor in 1896. The staggering mid term losses suffered by the Democrats and the lack of Democratic leaning newspapers almost forecast the eventual outcome. He campaigned outside the state almost as much as within. He let his own campaign flounder while working for Bryan. On August 29, Altgeld opened his platform tour with a speech at Girard, Illinois. The issues he dealt with were almost entirely national in character—the currency question, the tariff, and hard times. Only in his concluding statements did he briefly summarize the situation in the state. His speech closed with the plea: "If there are Republicans here who feel that they must in part support their ticket, then I say to you with all the earnestness of my soul, go into the booth, vote for Mr. Tanner for Governor, and then think of your families; think of the future of your children...and cast a vote for Bryan and humanity."

The presidential campaign of 1896 actually got its start at the Illinois Democratic State Convention in Peoria on June 23, when Altgeld dictated the platform which would later become the national platform of the Democratic Party. The platform repudiated the conservatism of the Cleveland administration and held out hope to the farmer and industrial wage earner.

The key to much of the situation in 1896 can be found in events that occurred in Illinois. Industry controlled the state and created favorable conditions for labor crisis like those at Haymarket in 1886; in Spring Valley in 1890; in the major coal areas of Illinois during 1893-94; and in the "model village" of Pullman during the summer of 1894. The effects of the Depression of 1893 were intensified in Illinois and elsewhere by the temporary destruction of the workman's power to bargain collectively for his labor.

Days before the Chicago Convention of 1896, Democratic silver leaders prepared strategy to take control of the national committee that contained a majority of gold men. It was assumed that Altgeld would be keynoter or permanent chairman. However, he did not want either position, preferring instead a role on the floor of the convention. Before the convention met, Altgeld made it clear to the Illinois delegation that the state could be pivotal in the battle for free silver. While the Governor was absent the delegation was polled as to their preference for president. Bland of Missouri received 33 of the 48 votes. The Governor agreed to vote with the majority and Illinois declared for Bland.

Journalist, Francis F. Browne, telegraphed this report of Altgeld's role in the convention of the *National Review* of London: "From the very opening of the... Convention, ...its leader and dominating spirit was John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois. He was the brain and the will of the convention, as Bryan was—very literally—its voice. Bryan's nomination was in the nature of an accident; Altgeld's leadership was inevitable from his position and his



Illinois Democrats celebrated when former Republican Governor John Palmer switched to their party. A national figure with presidential ambitions, this jugate coattail ribbon from 1892 boosts Palmer for president along with Altgeld for governor. The politically adaptable Palmer bolted the Bryan-led Democrats in 1896 and ran as the presidential candidate of the Gold Democrats.



Political cartoonists delighted in using Altgeld's lean, bearded appearance as a symbol of anarchy let loose upon the land.



personal qualities—from his abilities, his courage and his practical political sagacity. Even before the Convention assembled, he had done more than any other man to forecast its character, to create the situation and shape the issues which were there developed."

As the silver forces won victory after victory, the demand for an Altgeld speech continued to grow. His speech was similar to the one he gave in Peoria at the state convention, with more emphasis on the currency issue. His description of the plight of the unemployed and the farmers and appeal for free silver as a relief to the hungry men and women of the nation created a great demonstration.

The keynote of his speech—no compromise on the currency issue—was the major plank of the Chicago Convention. William H. Hinrichsen stated in 1902 that Altgeld "laid out the program of the convention, dictated the platform and impressed his personality upon the policy adopted" According to Hinrichsen, Altgeld told him that he did everything but nominate himself and that was prevented by an accident of birth and a clause in the Constitution. Carter H. Harrison, a Convention delegate, later wrote, "Altgeld, rather than Bryan or any other, was responsible for the clarion Chicago utterance... (Bryan) was little more than the silver-tongued mouthpiece of the thinker."

Evidence of Altgeld's impact upon the Democratic platform is seen when comparing the earlier Illinois platform to the later national platform:

1. The free coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one.

2. Tariff for revenue only; denunciation of the McKinley law.
3. Endorsement of the federal income tax.
4. Abolition of pauper immigration.
5. An anti-trust plank; enlargement of powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.
6. Industrial arbitration in labor disputes between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees.
7. Economy in government.
8. Denunciation of "arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as...a crime against free institutions"
9. Denunciation of "government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression..."
10. Recommendations extending the merit system of civil service, sympathy for Cuba, improvement of national waterways, and no third term for presidents.

A comparison of the Democratic platform of 1892 (on which Cleveland was elected) with the platform of 1896 reveals a change in philosophy that must be credited to John Peter Altgeld. To his opponents it was the "anarchist manifesto". After the adoption of the platform the nomination of president began. The effect of the Bryan "cross of gold, crown of thorns" speech, which he had given on several previous occasions, made him the leading opponent to Bland. After the forth ballot, when Bland had lost fifty votes and Bryan had gained fifty-seven, Illinois adjourned for consultation. Bryan won the roll call vote and under the unit rule, the delegation went



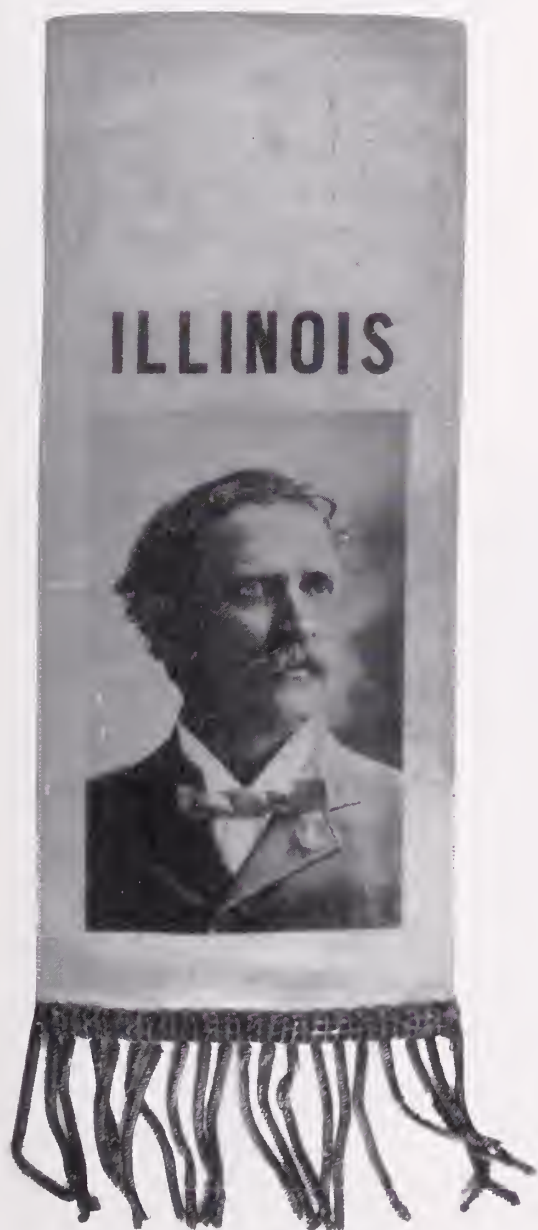
to him, after which Ohio and Missouri followed and the vote for Bryan was made unanimous.

Carl Snyder, writing in *Leslie's Weekly*, declared; "Governor Altgeld indeed comes very near to taking the President's place in the regard of the Democratic masses. From perhaps the most unpopular man in the United States, the Governor of Illinois...is now very near to the recognized master of the Democratic party." Altgeld stressed national issues and almost ignored the local campaign in Illinois. The extent to which the Republican party feared Altgeld was apparent in their choice of speakers to attack him. Benjamin Harrison, Carl Schurz, Albert Beveridge, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles G. Dawes, and Henry Cabot Lodge all made speeches against him.

Altgeld's best and possibly strongest speech was delivered in Cooper Union Hall in New York on October 17. Invited by a German Democratic organization to

speak on the currency issue, he chose instead to speak on the question of government by injunction and federal interference. He declared that the people must not surrender the right of self-government to the Supreme Court, nor concede to the President the right to send federal troops into any neighborhood at his pleasure.

The eastern newspapers were alarmed. The *New York Sun* remarked: "Governor Altgeld...is the real leader of the revolution and it would be foolish to underestimate the qualities which make him dangerous." Republican managers were alarmed enough to change Theodore Roosevelt's schedule from West Virginia and Maryland to Chicago. On October 29, Albert Beveridge, the thirty-four year old orator delivered the rebuttal to the Cooper Union speech in Chicago. The election returns gave the Republicans victory. McKinley had 7,035,638 to Bryan's 6,467,946 popular votes, and 271 to 176 electoral votes. As expected, Altgeld lost to Tanner by a vote of 587,637 to 474,256 a difference of 113,381; a staggering number at that time. Altgeld later said that against them were all of the financial institutions, most of the great papers, and every influence money could buy. Laborers were coerced by employers to vote for McKinley and Tanner in Illinois. During the weeks preceding the election, leading business men marched in gold standard parades followed by their employees.★



Altgeld would find defeat at the hands of Republican Joseph Tanner in the election of 1896.





THE MCKINLEY - TANNER CONNECTION

By Jim Kotche



Not only did the Republican Party of Illinois want to prevent the election of Bryan and Sewell in 1896, the defeat of John Peter Altgeld was of equal importance to them. The Haymarket pardons and the Pullman strike had unified the Illinois Republicans in their goal of ridding Illinois of that anarchist, Altgeld. This became especially important as Altgeld was considered to be the author of the 1896 democratic platform and a staunch supporter of the concept of planned inflation known as 16 to 1. As the Republican State Chairman, Tanner had managed the midterm campaign that, in the wake of Altgeld's Haymarket pardons, elected Republican candidates by overwhelming majorities.

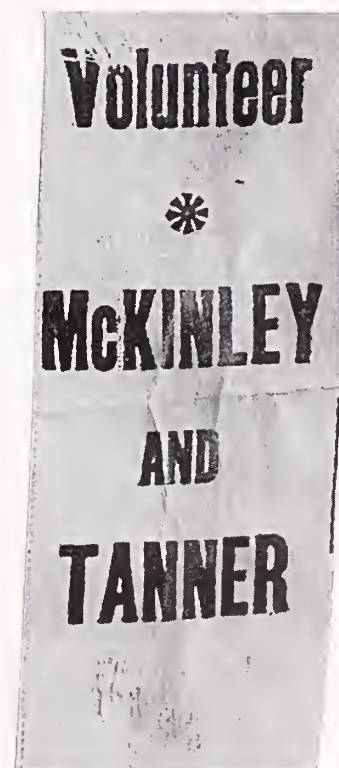
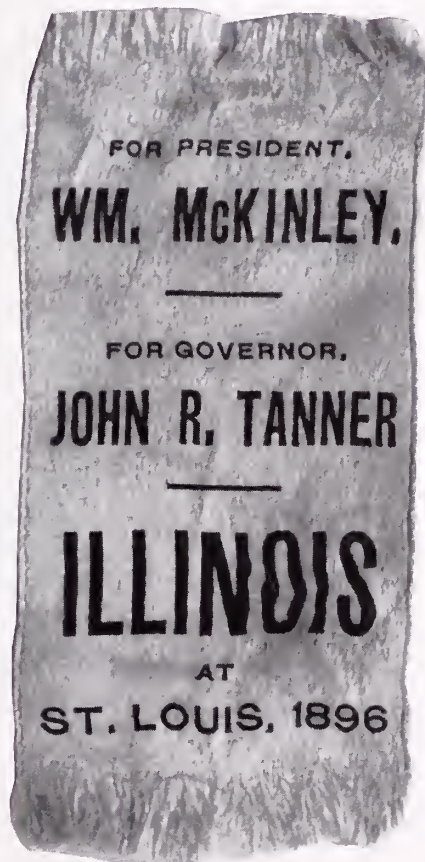
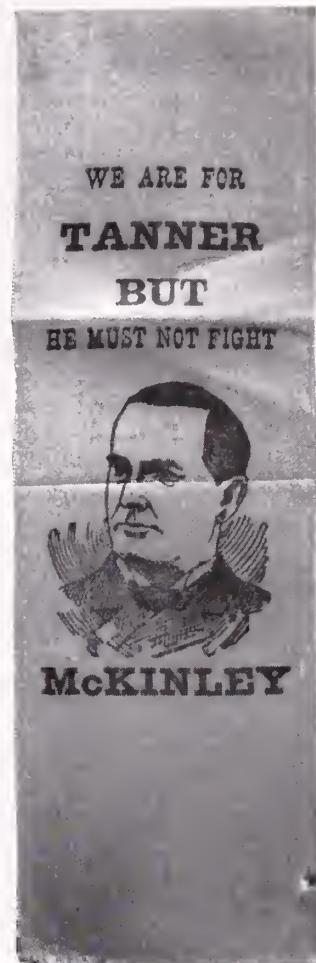
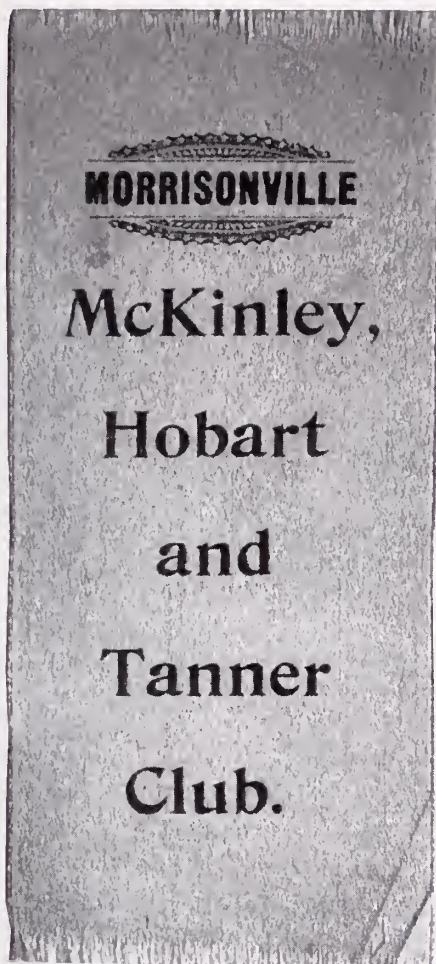
In 1896 Tanner was the Republicans' best chance to defeat Altgeld. Five living former Republican governors of Illinois, Richard J. Oglesby, John L. Beveridge, Shelby M. Cullom, John M. Hamilton, and Joseph W. Fifer, formed a "Flying Squadron" that campaigned for Tanner throughout Illinois. The results were Tanner 587, 637, Altgeld 474,256; an incredible winning majority of 113,381.

The Republican hatred of Altgeld was so universal that Tanner refused to allow him to speak at his inauguration, a tradition up until that time. It was later discovered that Altgeld's speech was very complimentary of Tanner.

It's hard to know which coattails were more important, McKinley's or Tanner's. There were at least eight different ribbons promoting both McKinley and Tanner and eleven jugate buttons. There is also a jugate of McKinley and Tanner issued for their re-election in 1900 that was evidently issued before Tanner decided to run against incumbent U.S. Senator Shelby M. Cullom, a move that turned out to be political suicide.★



Republican items from 1896 Illinois campaign reflect an intense effort to link the campaigns of McKinley and Tanner.



ILLINOIS GOVERNOR'S FLYING SQUADRON 1896

By Jim Kotche

One of the most interesting occurrences in Illinois gubernatorial campaigns was the Governor's Flying Squadron in 1896. Since Wilbur and Orville didn't leave the ground in Kitty Hawk until 1903 it must have been a journalistic term used to describe ex-governors et al on the stump all over the State of Illinois. The campaign for governor was between the current office holder John P. Altgeld, a Democrat, and challenger John R. Tanner, a Republican.

Indirectly though, it involved both William B. McKinley and William J. Bryan and their quest for the presidency. When Altgeld pardoned the remaining living Haymarket Square "Anarchists" the Republicans of Illinois were outraged. Their primary goal was to get rid of Altgeld. In 1894, the Republican state chairman, John R. Tanner, managed the mid term campaign that elected Republican candidates in overwhelming numbers.

Tanner was thought to be the only Republican who could defeat Altgeld. The five living Republican past governors* formed a Flying Squadron to campaign for Tanner. Some (such as Oglesby) were not thrilled to do it, but party harmony was achieved to get rid of Altgeld. To make matters even worse (or to unify the Republicans even more) the Democratic State Convention of 1895 adopted a platform including the 16 to 1 free silver plank that would become, in essence, Bryan's platform of 1896. One mother of pearl shield exists reading "Altgeld 16-1".

Altgeld's choice for president however was not Bryan, but Silver Dick Bland. Only after four ballots did he and Illinois support Bryan.

The campaign was so intense that the presidential candidates sought to align themselves with the gubernatorial candidates, almost as if reverse coat tails were in effect.

A ribbon that reads "We are for Tanner but he must not fight McKinley" is a good example of this. So are the ten McKinley-Tanner ribbons, the 11 McKinley-Tanner jugate buttons and the four Bryan-Altgeld jugate buttons.

Another interesting aspect of this campaign is the waving of the "Bloody Flag." Altgeld, who was foreign born and too young, did not serve in the Union Army. In 1888 the previous Republican governor, Joseph Fifer, won election while campaigning as "Private Joe." A number of ribbons allude to this title. In 1896 the Patriotic Hero's Battalion of Illinois was formed and listed six generals, Corporal James Tanner and Private John R. Tanner (showing, I suppose, that the Tanner brothers were just plain folks). Evidently you could not be a member of the Patriotic Hero's Battalion if you were a Democrat.





"Flying Squadron" campaigned for Tanner in 1896. Sitting from left, John L. Beveridge, Richard J. Oglesby, Shelby M. Cullom, John M. Hamilton. Standing from left, John C. Smith, John R. Tanner, James Van Cleve, Joseph W. Fifer, Lyman R. Ray.

The results were to be expected as both Tanner and McKinley won in Illinois.

John R. Tanner	587,637	54.1%	113,381 plurality
John P. Altgeld	474,256	43.7	

Listed below are the members of the Flying Squadron and the Patriotic Hero's Battalion of 1896.

Flying Squadron: 1864-1892

Richard J. Oglesby	Governor 1865-69; 73; 85-89
John L. Beveridge	Governor 1873-77
Shelby M. Cullom	Governor 1877-81; 81-83
John M. Hamilton	Governor 1883-85
Joseph W. Fifer	Governor 1889-93
John C. Smith	
Lyman B. Ray	Lt. Governor 1889-93
James Van Cleave	City Clerk of Chicago 1891-95

Patriotic Hero's Battalion of Illinois

General Franz Sigel
General Daniel E. Sickles
General Russell A. Alger
General Oliver O. Howard
General John E. Milholland
General Thomas J. Stewart
Corporal James Tanner
Private John R. Tanner

The Democrats served only two four year terms as governor between 1856 and 1932; one was Altgeld, the other Edward Dunne. Tanner also only served one term as he decided to challenge a former mentor and friend, U.S. Senator Shelby M. Cullom. Cullom had Tanner appointed Marshall for Southern Illinois and later arranged for his appointment as Assistant United States Treasurer.

Cullom was also a member of the Flying Squadron and campaigned for Tanner. Why Tanner chose to challenge Cullom in 1900 for the U.S. Senate, is of course another story.★

*John M. Palmer 1869-1873 was a Republican when elected governor. He then turned Democrat and was defeated for governor in 1888 by Joseph Fifer, therefore was not a member of the Flying Squadron



ALTGELD FOR MAYOR OF CHICAGO

During his term as Governor, Altgeld had concerned himself with urban problems. Presented with "monopoly bills" by the legislature that gave perpetual franchises to gas, water, and streetcar companies, he vetoed the bills and suggested that municipalities should take the services over. After his 1896 defeat for Governor he returned to Chicago to practice law and joined Clarence Darrow's law firm. Still sought after as a speaker, Altgeld went to Philadelphia and on September 5, 1897 gave a speech on "Corruption and Usurpation in Government and Municipal and Governmental Ownership".

He concluded his speech: "This is Labor Day throughout the United States and many beautiful things will be said about the dignity of labor, but I want to say to you that if our government is not rescued from corporations and if the snaky form of government by injunction is not crushed, then it would have been better for your children if they had never been born."

The following year Altgeld was instrumental in helping to select Carter H. Harrison II as the Democratic nominee for Mayor. Harrison ran on the Chicago platform and with the help of Altgeld was able to win by 148,880 votes to 69,730. The break between Altgeld and Harrison came in part from their different concepts of political realities and responsibilities. Harrison would not discuss his appointments, mostly gold Democrats, with silver Democrats. He also gave support to the boss of Tammany, Richard Croker, an enemy of Altgeld. Harrison accepted Croker's invitation to go to New York in October of 1897 to speak on behalf of the Tammany candidate for mayor. Another candidate was Henry George, a friend of Altgeld's and a silver Democrat, running as an independent. In the 1898 county elections most of the candidates were chosen by the Harrison faction. The results were disastrous, with the Democrats losing all the contests.

It was the streetcar issue that finally caused the open split between Harrison and Altgeld. Charles T. Yerkes, the "traction king" of Chicago sought tighter legal control for his streetcar companies. In 1896 he had lobbied for "Eternal Monopoly" bills by bribes to the "People's representatives" in the legislature. Altgeld vetoed the bills and refused the bribes but Yerkes refused to give up. On December 20, 1898, an ordinance was introduced in the Chicago city council extending the franchises, including Yerkes', for the maximum fifty-year limit. Altgeld called for municipal ownership at once. Harrison favored granting franchise extensions for twenty years.

On the night the vote was taken in the city council, City Hall was surrounded by a mob armed with nooses and guns. The vote went against Yerkes. The newspapers began to speculate about a possible race for mayor between Harrison and Altgeld. Even the *Chicago Tribune* carried a story on Altgeld's power of persuasion, a man it hated. "Altgeld brought his audience (at the last franchise protest meeting) to its highest pitch of fervor when he declared that the city, not the traction companies, should


dictate terms and that the time for consideration was not now, but 1903. The tension to which he moved his hearers was illustrated again when he declared municipal ownership attended by a pronounced reduction in fares the ultimate solution. There was first a moment of silence, then a shout as from a single throat." That meeting on the night of December 11, 1898, was the last time Harrison and Altgeld would be on the same platform.

On December 19, Harrison supporters placed posters on every corner which stated: "Chicago and Harrison against Yerkes and boodle!" Altgeld announced his candidacy in the *Freie Presse* of December 20. In a newspaper interview following his announcement, Altgeld said, "For several months I have had many people coming to me and asking me to make this fight. I have been opposed to it. I have no desire to be running around the city making speeches in an exhausting campaign. But those who have broached the matter to me have been insistent. I have told them I did not want the office; that I had refused the nomination before I was Governor and cared nothing for the position now. But I have always been ready and stand ready now to do anything I can to assist the Democratic party. If the making of this fight will do anything to stop the treachery which is destroying the local organization and which threatens to ruin the national organization, then I am willing to make the fight. I will run for office if my doing so will serve such an end."

Altgeld felt he could not get the nomination of the Democratic Party which was in complete control of Harrison. In late December he said: "The only way to success is to go squarely before the people, and that is what I have always done and always will do. Other persons can have the party machinery if they think it will do them any good. It is the people, however, who have the final disposal of all matters."

Altgeld established his headquarters in the Unity Building, and his campaign began to move. "Municipal Ownership and Chicago Platform" became the slogan of the Altgeld forces. When Altgeld decided to run as an independent with the support of the Municipal Ownership League, he also decided to enter candidates for each of the city offices. Altgeld did not enter the March primary which elected delegates to the city Democratic convention, and, as a result, Harrison was easily nominated and the convention ended up as a political rally for the Mayor. Harrison in his campaigning made no references to the Democratic party and not one of his posters or buttons had the words "Democratic" on them.

Altgeld formally opened his campaign on Saturday, February 18, with a public address at the People's Institute: one of the largest political meetings ever held on the west side. He outlined the issues of the election: "The most remarkable phenomenon of our times is the formation of trusts and the concentration of capital, through which competition is wiped out, small dealers and small manufacturers are crushed out, wages are



HEADQUARTERS
 For Mayor of Chicago. **JOHN P. ALTGELD**
Municipal Ownership
Chicago Platform
No Compromise
 Unity Building,
 79 Dearborn St.
 Chicago

Letterhead

arbitrarily fixed on the one hand and the price of products arbitrarily named on the other, so that the great masses of our people are rendered helpless and their independence is being destroyed."

Getting coverage in the Chicago newspapers was only one of the problems Altgeld faced; none of the nine daily papers endorsed him. The Altgeld campaign started its own publication, the *Municipal Ownership Bulletin*, that was mailed directly to 600,000 voters in Chicago. The Harrison campaign, not to be out done, also had its own publication, the *Chicago Champion*. As the end drew near, Altgeld forces were optimistic. A *Chicago Chronicle* poll in mid-March showed them ahead. Clarence Darrow stated "This is the first campaign in Chicago in which I have felt that there was something worth voting for. We have elected many platforms and men who stood on them, but that has been the last heard of the platforms....The only salvation is in electing a man who is the friend of the common people. That man is John P. Altgeld. No one can doubt his sincere interest in the great mass of the people."

But Altgeld could not overcome the machine. Harrison was re-elected on April 4, 1899, with 146,175 votes to Zina Carter's 107,355 and Altgeld's 45,395. Before the voting, Altgeld appeared to be the winner. But the appearance was deceptive, Darrow explained, "for the same footsore and weary would travel from one end of the city to another and attend meetings night after night." Altgeld was denied delegate credentials to the 1900 Democratic convention in Kansas City, which endorsed Altgeld policy by renominating Bryan on a liberal platform. In Illinois he made speeches for the Democratic ticket.

"The Little Dutchman" died March 13, 1902 at Joliet of a cerebral hemorrhage only hours after a speech advocating Boer independence from the British in South Africa.★

Suggested Reading

John Peter Altgeld

Live Questions

John Peter Altgeld

Chicago 1890 Updated 1899

Altgeld of Illinois: A Record of His Life and Work

Waldo R. Browne

New York 1924

(see page 20)



Citizens of Chicago!
 Vote for
John P. Altgeld
 and make a final struggle against Trusts, Monopolists, Corruptionists and Political Freebooters that are undermining our liberties and destroying our homes.
 (Over)

The Story of My Life

Clarence Darrow
New York 1932

Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld

Harry Barnard
Indianapolis 1938

Altgeld's America 1890-1905

Rav Ginger
Funk & Wagnalls
New York 1958

The Mind and Spirit of John P. Altgeld

Henry M. Christman
Urbana 1965

Bryan, A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan

Louis W. Koenig
Putnam 1971

Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide

Ed by Harry Hansen
Hastings House

Illinois: A History of the Prairie State

Robert P. Howard
Erdman Publishing Co. 1972 & 1986

A Short History of Chicago

Robert Cromie
Lexikos

Mostly Good and Competent Men

Illinois Governors 1818 To 1988
Robert P. Howard
Illinois State Historical Society

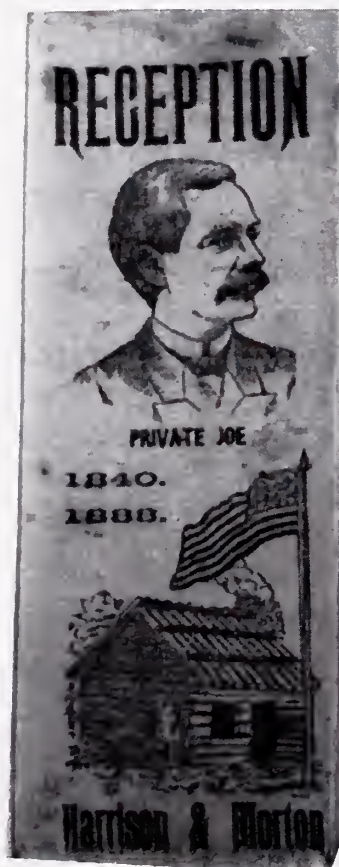
The Haymarket Tragedy

Paul Avrich
Princeton 1984

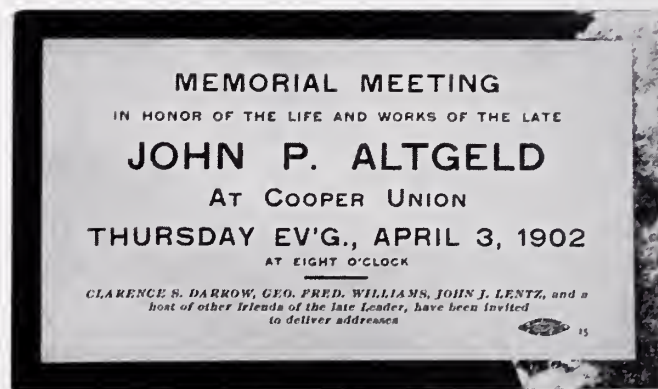
The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs

Humanities Press

Jim Kotche (APIC 1151) has been a collector and APIC member since 1966. Author of *John B. Anderson, Congressman and Presidential Candidate*, his main interest is in items related to the state of Illinois. Kotche currently serves on the APIC Board of Directors



Ribbon from "Private Joe" Fifer featuring tie in with the 1840 William Henry Harrison campaign (along with the 1888 campaign of Benjamin Harrison.)



CLARENCE DARROW FOR MAYOR

By Jim Kotche



No historical review of John Peter Altgeld would be complete without a special look at Clarence Darrow and the bond between them. When Altgeld wrote his book "*OUR PENAL MACHINERY*" it was for the purpose of furthering his reputation, not in law or real estate, but for politics. More than 10,000 copies were printed and most were bought by Altgeld himself to be given away to influential persons throughout the midwest.

One copy went to a police magistrate in Ashtabula, Ohio who gave it to a young lawyer by the name of Clarence Darrow. The book impressed Darrow tremendously and within a year he moved to Chicago where he became a friend and protege of Altgeld. He would remain a true and loyal advisor to Altgeld for the rest of his life.

One of the most interesting aspects of Clarence Darrow, and one that is little known outside Chicago, was his political encounter with the office of Mayor of Chicago. On May 12, 1902 the entire anthracite coal industry shut down due to a strike by it's 142,000 miners. As cold weather approached, the situation became more critical. Coal was the main fuel used to heat houses in the eastern cities.

President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a commission to hear testimony and make recommendations. In late October Darrow was appointed as chief attorney to represent the strikers and present their case to the commission. He was assisted by Henry Lloyd. A few days after his appointment Darrow won a lopsided victory in the election to the state legislature in Chicago, his 11,000 votes were nearly double those of the other two winners in his district.

Right after his election the settlement of another case (the Union Traction case) was announced. It gave workers a pay raise of more than \$100.00 per man.

Darrow's popularity skyrocketed among labor in Chicago. Plans were made to reform the old Altgeld Union Labor party for the city elections in 1903 with Darrow as the nominee for mayor and public ownership of public utilities as the main plank in the platform.

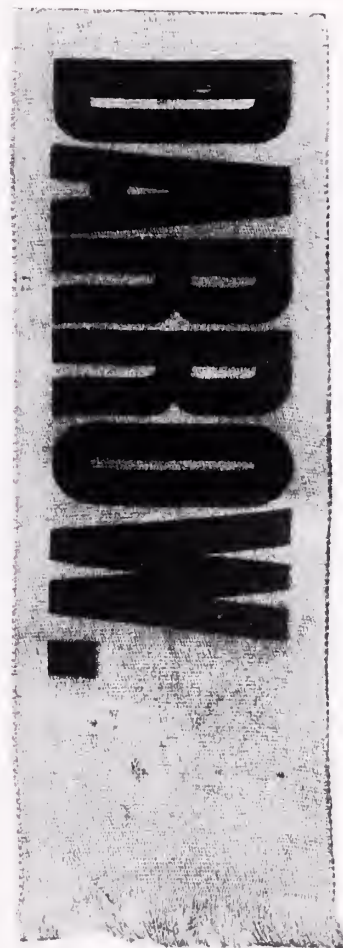
The Anthracite Coal Commission hearings in Pennsylvania throughout the winter kept Darrow's name on the front page of every Chicago newspaper. He was so involved in the hearings that he missed being sworn into the state legislature on January 6, 1903. Rumors about his running or not running for mayor were the topic of discussion among his supporters.

Darrow for Mayor buttons, made up by these supporters, appeared all over Chicago. His supporters included friends, labor, news media and many left over followers of John P. Altgeld. Mayor Harrison, seeking his fourth term, and his associates became very alarmed at this grass roots movement and had the County Committee endorse Harrison for re-election.

The coal hearings ended in mid February and Darrow returned to Chicago as a conquering hero, speaking to more than 5,000 people in the Auditorium. He announced that he would not enter the Democratic primary but refused to commit to an independent or Union Labor nomination, thus keeping the Democratic leaders in turmoil. Darrow conferred with many people about running, including Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell of the UMW and Henry Lloyd, all of whom advised him not to run.

Darrow himself wrote that an independent candidate could not count on the support of the *Chicago American* whose owner, William Randolph Hearst, espoused public ownership but really wanted the 1904 Democratic nomination for President. Hearst couldn't afford to antagonize Carter Harrison who would control the Chicago delegation to the national convention.

Based on these and other considerations Darrow announced on February 23rd that he would not make the race for mayor. He felt the people of Chicago wanted public ownership and the important thing was to get the law passed. The legislature was the place to do that and Darrow was already there.★



BADGE(GATE) AND COVER UP IN THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

By Harold Mailman

While examining a number of GAR badges, (they are not medals, though the design of the star portion of the badge was copied from the Congressional Medal of Honor) it became apparent that the badges were not alike in several respects. There were interesting differences in their design. However, the most obvious difference was in the metal from which they were made.

The badge was issued by the GAR as a symbol and right of membership. It was authorized in their by-laws in 1869 and the specifications adopted in 1870. The specifications are quite plainly described:

"The badge is of bronze, made from cannon captured in different decisive battles during the late rebellion..."

The Grand Army of the Republic was a potent political force in the years following the Civil War. By 1874 there were over 971 Posts organized in 33 or 34 states and the District of Columbia. In 1882 they had 90,166 members. Two years later, they boasted of 237,595. That is a remarkable number of the total U.S., male population at that time. They reported that they had sold 91,500 badges from 1883 to 1884. The GAR said that they were a patriotic organization and their Rules and Regulations precluded them from entering into partisan politics. Their disinclination to partisan politics is questionable. The string of Civil War Veterans elected as President, from U.S. Grant to McKinley, raises question as to how non-political they were.

They were quite successful in representing the interests of the Union Civil War veteran. That included land grants, pensions, hospitals, rest homes, war memorials, etc. Except, perhaps, for some of the Southern States, few States do not have a highway named for the Grand Army of the Republic.

The GAR badge was very important. Over the years there were opinions handed down by the Organization's "judicial" arm, (the Judge Advocates-General): Who owned the badges?; Should the cost of the badge be part of, or separate from, the mustering-in fee?; If a "Comrade" was expelled or dropped out of the GAR, was he still entitled to wear the badge? An interesting lateral was that the JAG also ruled that women, no matter what service they may have rendered in the Union cause, were not eligible for membership in the GAR and therefore would not be eligible to wear the GAR badge.

The only addition to the Rules and Regulations, relating to badges was adopted in 1873, which allowed the Commander-in-Chief of the GAR to set up a special badge for officers of the Organization.

During the Convention of 1874, the question of the metal content of the badges began to emerge. A resolution was introduced that would "allow a more stylish and expensive badge than the one prescribed....The motion was defeated."

At the Encampment of 1876, the matter of the metal content of the badges became even more of an issue.

Apparently, the leadership knew there had been a problem but attempted a cover-up.

"Through General Orders and circulars from these Headquarters, the Order has been informed of change in the manufacture of in Grand Army badges... ..it was deemed best to withhold (the information) from the Order generally....".

Officers down to the State level were informed of "the technical departure" from the Rules and Regulations but "their approval was asked" not to reveal this "departure."

The Commander-in-Chief and the Quartermaster-General "visited the manufacturer, Mr. A. Demerits, to complain of the very *inferior workmanship* of the badges that had been issued for the past several months..." It would appear that "workmanship" was not their first concern, as the report continues:

"In answer to the question, Mr. Demerits stated that none of the badges were made of captured cannon because no such material had been furnished him. He had secured an order to enable him to secure a cannon...but its removal involved an expenditure he did not care to make."

The minutes went on to reiterate that the standing Rules, [describing the badge] "Sec. 2, Art. IX, Chap. V, Rules and Regulations" were still in effect.

Unfortunately the Proceedings of Encampments of 1877 to 1882, (i.e., the Eleventh through the Sixteenth Sessions) are not available to me. However, the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session indicates that somewhere in that interval the Order found a new manufacturer, who was a member of the GAR.

It is apparent that the new manufacturer, Comrade Davison of Philadelphia, had initially been charging the Order 50 cents per badge as compared to Mr. Demerit's price of 45 cents. Because of the volume of sales, the price to the National GAR was reduced to 40 cents each. The report had a decidedly defense tone, in regard to the price. But the Reporter boasted that, "We sold, up to June 30th, 1883, 75,863 badges. The sale from June 30th to close of my term will make the number issued during the year fully 80,000."

Sometime in the year following this last report, the GAR had made contracts for 40 cents per badge with a manufacturer, Messrs. Bur and McFetridge of Philadelphia and then, apparently, went back to Davison, at 30 cents each.

The scandal became public in a report to the Eighteenth National Encampment, in Minneapolis, July, 1884. The report by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Administration reads:

"These contracts have been publicly adverted to as having been made by the National Officers from interested or improper motives, and it has been distinctly charged that the Order has been deceived by the officers



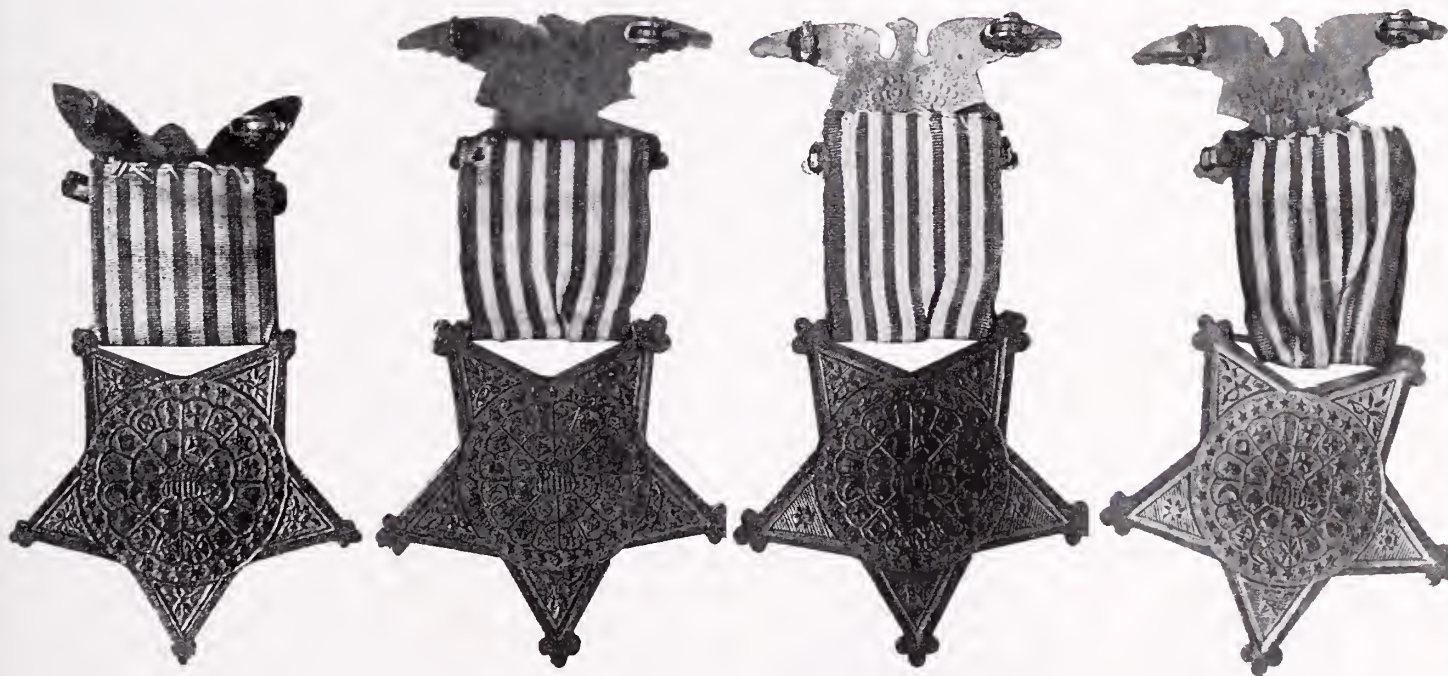
OBVERSE

A

B

C

D



Reverse

A

B

C

D

for years by palming off a base metal badge for the gun-metal required to be used under the Rules and Regulations. It is directly alleged in a paper, professedly published in the interest of the Grand Army, that no badges have been made of captured cannon metal and that that metal cannot be made into badges."

The report goes on to attack the motives of the person who made the allegations. It is suggested that even though the individual, who made the charges, was not a manufacturer of badges, he had made a verbal offer to produce the badges at 25 cents each, though not from captured cannon. It is confusing for me as to whether the operative issues are "captured" or "cannon gun-metal". The report quotes expert testimony by a Comrade who is the Chief Coiner of the United States Mint. This metallurgist had spent one afternoon at the premises of Comrade Davison observing the manufacturing process of the badges. The expert watched metal being cut from a cannon. (Note: The expert never used the words "captured" or "decisive battle" in his report, as herein quoted.) What is even more remarkable is that the expert's report gratuitously adds:

"Davison had some metal cut from one of the guns in his shop in my presence, which I saw melted, cast and struck, and now have a perfectly finished star part of the GAR badge. *If he can do this with pure cannon metal, why shouldn't he be able to do this with an alloy of 80% cannon metal and 20% copper?*" (Author's emphasis)

One fails to understand why the expert metallurgist even raised the matter of making alloys, or why the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Administration did not omit that sentence in the report that he quoted. It only serves to raise further questions.

My written sources stopped with the National Encampment of 1884. However, the actual badges indicate that the problem continued after 1884. I found one badge that was "mixed". That is to say that the bottom star was apparently bronze (or largely bronze) while the top clasp was made of an obviously base metal. The reverse of the base metal clasp has two items struck in relief. The text on the reverse reads "Pat. May 4, 1888, June 22, 1888. This establishes the date of the manufacture as 1888 or later. Below the text is the image of a cooking pot over a camp fire. The pot hangs from a stick which, in turn, is supported between two "Y" shaped branched sticks.

It is interesting to note that, while the star of the "mixed" badge is wholly or mostly bronze, the design on the reverse of the star is different from the (probably) earlier stars. The original description of the reverse of the star reads:

"The Reverse Side represents a branch of Laurel- the crown and reward of the brave in each point of the star."

The design of this "mixed" badge has Laurel in only two points of the star. The other points contain what are apparently military symbols. One appears to be a cavalry guidon. The other two appear to be two different symbols of bomb bursts.



Reverse of the mini-badge showing almost the same design that appears on the reverse of badges C and D. The straight sticks do not appear on the reverse of the badge clasps.

This design of the reverse of the star appears on the versions of the badges that are made of totally base metal and, thereby, one may deduce that the totally bronze badge may be the earlier versions.

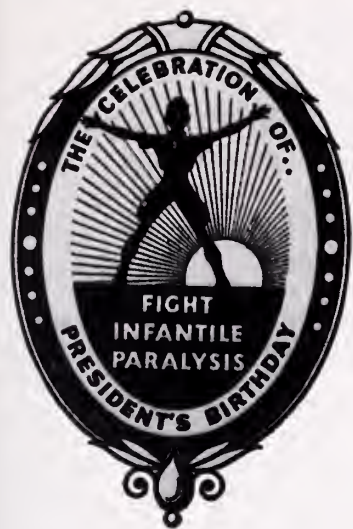
In all, I have seen what I believe to be, four different versions of the GAR badge. This in no way implies that there were only four versions. Of the totally bronze badges I found a major difference in the design of the clasp. For lack of a better description, I call one the, "smaller eagle over eight cannon balls", as compared the other, "larger eagle over ten cannon balls".

TOP CLASP	BOTTOM STAR
A Bronze, small eagle, eight cannon balls Reverse blank	Bronze, five points w/laurel Smaller star
B Bronze, large eagle, ten cannon balls Reverse blank	Bronze, five points w/laurel
C Base metal, large eagle, ten cannon balls Reverse w/cooking pot and text	Bronze, two points w/laurel
D Base metal, large eagle, ten cannon balls Reverse w/cooking pot and text	Base metal, two points w/laurel

The lapel stud which I have seen referred to as the "miniature badge" is interesting as regards to the design on it's reverse. This design **without text** is the same cooking pot over a camp fire. However, in front of the camp fire are two parallel, vertical sticks which cast a shadow on the foreground. Above the camp fire and the sticks is, what I believe, may be a blanket roll. The meaning escapes me.

I also found a 1" celluloid pin with an open back, but no back paper. It has a multi colored picture of the GAR badge on a white background. Since open back buttons did not come into use until 1896, this establishes the manufacture as 1896, or later. The button is in very good shape that, except for some rust on the back, I would hazard the guess that the button was made considerably later than 1896, for some kind of patriotic celebration. There is nothing to indicate that it was produced by the GAR.

(see GAR, p.35)



"Roosevelt's Disease" and the Birthday Balls

By Ed Sullivan

Poliomyelitis was the pivotal defining constant in Franklin Roosevelt's life. This permanently debilitating disease was both the cause of and the crucible for his spiritual regeneration. From his unyielding daily battle with poliomyelitis emerged a stubborn tenacity and resolute courage, the core of his rock solid leadership during the dark moments of Depression and war. From the day of his death to that day, a decade later, when the results of a successfully tested vaccine were announced to the nation, Franklin Roosevelt was the well publicized symbol of triumph over disability. The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr writes of a certain kind of moral courage, "the courage to change." Roosevelt possessed that courage; he became the quintessential model of the courageous victim who would not quit.

For Americans of my generation, polio was the scourge of our childhood. Every neighborhood seemed to have its victims. Wherever children congregated polio victims were obvious because of their leg braces, crutches or wheel chairs. While not restricted specifically to children and infants, poliomyelitis (popularly called infantile paralysis because of the much higher frequency of very young victims) was one of three related viruses which attacked motor nerves along the spinal cord. The exact location of an attack and its severity determined which muscles would become affected as well as the degree of paralysis. Paralysis occurred and muscles atrophied or shortened, gradually becoming so weak that normal functioning was no longer possible.

Depending upon one's immune system, the virus might simply disappear and leave no residual muscle weakness. Artificial supports were necessary as was extensive physical therapy. One such support, rarely seen by the general public, was the Drinker respirator, better known as the "iron lung", a body-length cannister in which a victim of respiratory paralysis was kept alive by a vacuum-based breathing apparatus.

Children, and infants whose immune systems were still developing, were most at risk. The polio virus was passed from one person to another, entering the blood stream and eventually reaching the spinal cord. The disease was most virulent during hot summer days when children were at play in swimming pools, camps and playgrounds. Possibly they were overheated from their activities and

their natural immunity weakened. During the 1920s and 1930s poliomyelitis was sometimes casually referred to as "Roosevelt's disease."

The truly facinating story of what caused poliomyelitis, how it was conquered and the profound changes in social and political mores which had to occur concurrently are beyond the scope of this article. It is important to note, however, that the disease, as yet unnamed, was known at least from the 18th-century in Europe and in the early 19th-century in America. One prominent victim was the Scottish novelist Sir Walter Scott. The cause of poliomyelitis and how it was transmitted were not discovered until well into this century. The first recorded epidemic occurred in this country in 1916. During its five month duration about 27,000 cases, including 6,000 deaths, were identified in 26 states. In New York City, about 2,400 children died out of 8,900 affected--a mortality rate of one in four. Other epidemics, with fewer victims but of an intensity equal to the 1916 epidemic, occurred almost yearly elsewhere in this country.

Since poliomyelitis has an incubation period of a few days to about 35 days, it is likely that Roosevelt did not contact the disease at Campobello, New Brunswick, the family summer home, although that is where the attack occurred. The story of those terrible days and years of constant pain that followed have been told and retold, dramatized by Hollywood and recently documented by national public television. It will not be repeated here except as it is relevant to the birthday balls.

Seeking a cure, perhaps as much in desperation as hope, Roosevelt visited the mineral springs in the town of Warm Springs, Georgia in the fall of 1924. It was the first of 41 visits and here he was to die, at the Little White House, on April 12, 1945. Roosevelt's unassailable



YOU CAN HELP

Fight Infantile Paralysis

Howard Chandler Christy

THE BIRTHDAY BALL
FIGHT INFANTILE PARALYSIS
FOR THE PRESIDENT

The BIRTHDAY BALL
for the **PRESIDENT**

THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 30th 1936

— AT —

HOTEL BLACKSTONE

Birthday Ball placard. Drawing by Howard Chandler Christy.

conviction that he would overcome his disease, the freedom of movement which the water's buoyancy gave him, and his painful but ultimately successful efforts to stand and walk with canes rather than crutches made him a symbol of hope which, by the mid-1930s, inspired other victims across the country.

Equally important in a different way was his prolonged contact with local Georgians and fellow victims from all social and economic backgrounds (although the Warm Springs resort remained racially segregated until the early 1940s). It was from these forces, the social contacts and the spa's physical and psychological benefits (mostly the latter), that the idea of a birthday ball emerged. In 1923, shortly before his first visit, Roosevelt exercised his option to buy the Warm Springs property. By 1926 he was advertising the spa as a health and social resort, mostly for able and disabled well-to-do guests, and for patients who would have access to the mineral waters and a competent staff to work with them. Within a year, however, the "social resort" was dropped and the spa was incorporated as the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation for those who could pay and those who could not. Despite some outside financial support—Edsel Ford, for example, donated \$25,000 to glass over the therapy pool—Roosevelt's money and patients' fees could not adequately support the Foundation. By this time as many as one-third to one-half of the patient population was barely able or unable to pay for treatment; the "well-to-do" had departed with the end of the social resort. It was clear that the Foundation's future was precarious.

At this point, Daniel Basil "Doc" O'Connor entered the scene. Born in Taunton, Massachusetts in 1892, O'Connor was a self-described "scrappy bantam weight Irishman, one generation removed from servitude", who had made his fortune as a lawyer for high profile clients. In 1925 he and Roosevelt formed a partnership which led to the organization of the Warm Springs Foundation, its successor, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; and, later, that organization's incredibly successful fund-raising arm, the March of Dimes. O'Connor was the first treasurer of the Warm Springs Foundation and its president when Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. Described as an instinctive philanthropist and superb administrator, O'Connor enlarged Warm Springs' physical plant, reorganized the medical facilities and established a fund-raising program which was overly dependent upon wealthy contributors.

But economic hard times affecting even those contributors necessitated a change. That situation led to the first national birthday ball in 1934 on the occasion of the president's birthday, January 30th. Three men, with considerable help from their staffs, originated the idea: O'Connor; Kurt Morgan, the Foundation's insurance agent; and Henry Doherty, chairman of Cities Service, a utilities holding company. It was probably Doherty, suffering from severe arthritis and recently charged by the Federal Trade Commission with questionable stock manipulations, who proposed a nation-wide fund-raising celebration on the occasion of the president's birthday. He led with a substantial donation, perhaps as a gesture toward repairing his public image.



Drawn by E. Heavin, Washington Post Staff Artist

A birthday ball commission was formed which included such notables as industrialist Harvey Firestone, New York governor Herbert Lehman, miners' union boss John L. Lewis and medical pioneer Dr. William Mayo. The celebration's purpose was to create a permanent endowment for the Warm Springs Foundation. In a blitz of national publicity including endorsements by prominent personalities in politics, the arts and the entertainment world, the original ball exploded into 6,000! The most publicized ball, the first of annual balls, was held at New York's Waldorf Hotel. For the \$25 admission fee (most charged considerably less), the hundreds of participants met Sara Delano, the President's 79 year-old mother, greeted local polio victims, and enjoyed the music and dancing. Nationally, the balls ranged across the social spectrum: one was held at a state hospital for the mentally ill. Two balls were held in Warm Springs: one for the townspeople at the local casino and one for patients and staff at the Foundation itself. With expenses deducted, the President was handed a check for \$1,016,443.39 for the Foundation. Through a national radio hook-up he thanked contributors: "This is the happiest birthday I have ever known...no man ever had a finer birthday remembrance."

But the 1935, 1936, and 1937 balls were less financially productive. Roosevelt's unpopularity with wealthy donors, unhappy with his New Deal legislation; the assumed

(usually incorrectly) partisan nature of the balls; and the lack of observable progress in discovering a polio vaccine were the common explanations.

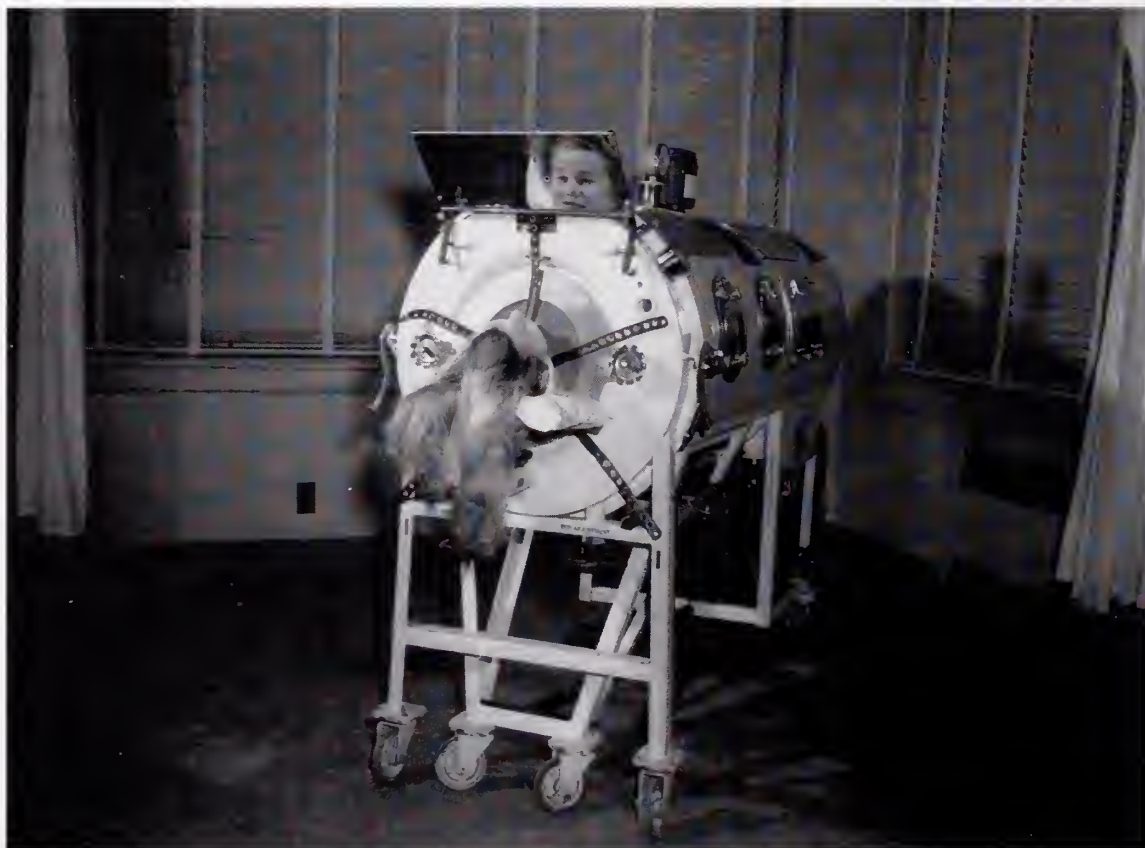
Whatever the cause of decreased income, the Warm Springs Foundation trustees, with Roosevelt in agreement, decided to replace the Foundation with one broader in scope. Accordingly, and following considerable preliminary exploration, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis was organized with "Doc" O'Connor as its president. "The general purpose of this new Foundation," said Roosevelt, speaking from the White House in September, 1937, "will be to lead, direct and unify the fight in every phase of this sickness." He endorsed the four "battle fronts" that O'Connor and his staff had designated: scientific research, epidemic first aid, patient care and the establishment and maintenance of treatment centers. With some modifications, such as underwriting training for professional staff, this framework would last until the National Foundation's existence ended in 1979. One immediate result of this changeover was the end of the Warm Springs Foundation's pre-eminence; it would become one beneficiary among others. Equally important, the President no longer need be concerned with the administration and the finances of the Warm Springs operation. Although he never lost his active interest in patients' well-being, he would henceforth come to Warm Springs to rest and relax.

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis became one of the most successful fund-raising organizations in American history, judged not only in dollars raised but in numbers and variety of contributors—public and private sources, poor people as well as rich.

From its beginnings until the early 1950s, it was a grassroots organization with a phenomenally successful advertising record. By the end of 1937 and into 1938, there were thousands of donated-space advertisements in magazines with a combined circulation of over 30 million. Free space was also donated in subways, busses and trolley cars. Hollywood studios produced "shorts" to accompany feature-length films and Mickey Mouse got into the act as the hero of "message" cartoons. Prominent cartoonists Rollin Kirby and Clifton Berryman, among others, volunteered their talents as did the popular illustrator Howard Chandler Christy.

The birthday balls, as distinct from the National Foundation, were planned fund-raisers with formats that rarely deviated from the first 1934 affair. They were primarily dances—formal or informal, stag or drag-sponsored by any group which chose to do so, the more politically non-partisan, the better. Local musicians and entertainers usually donated their time and lapel buttons were sold to participants who were urged to "dance so that others might walk." The balls were always held in January and coordinating efforts were necessary in larger communities.

The widespread enthusiastic support made the 1938 balls and those that followed huge financial successes and forever stamped Franklin Roosevelt as much more than simply a popular politician. His image, usually the focus of birthday ball advertising, appeared in just about every conceivable kind of medium: mass market publications, public advertising, lapel buttons, National Foundation leaflets—together with radio commercials. Like their predecessors, the 1938 balls were held in every kind of



Fourteen-year-old model Arlene Hooker of Great Falls, Montana, poses in a Drinker respirator at the Warm Springs Foundation in 1949. Courtesy: March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation.

space imaginable: schools, hospitals, hotels, community centers, dance halls, union halls, wherever there was space sufficient to bring dancers and musicians together. Birthday balls staged at several Washington, D.C. hotels featured Eleanor Roosevelt, an army of foreign ambassadors and local politicians, polio victims as special guests, and stage and screen celebrities Janet Gaynor, Frederick March, Eleanor Powell, Joe E. Brown, Ken Murray and Ray Bolger. Robert Benchley, of the Algonquin Round Table set, was on hand for a few acerbic remarks. Broadway actress Helen Hayes, whose 19 year-old daughter had recently died from polio, was a prominent participant at the Waldorf Hotel ball in New York.

The 1939 balls in Washington, D.C. featured some of Hollywood's finest such as swashbuckler Erroll Flynn; Jean Hersholt, everybody's favorite screen doctor; Ralph Bellamy, who later portrayed Roosevelt in "Sunrise at Campobello"; and George Brent, who always came in second best in pursuit of the leading lady's hand. But a 1942 ball held in Newington, Connecticut is more typical of the thousands held—in the midst of war—across the country. This ball, sponsored by a local federal hospital, featured adagio dancers, nightclub comedians and "six beautiful girls" billed as "Harold Lloyd's Hollywood Hobby Horses." Festivities included raffling a birthday cake with tickets a dime each or three for a quarter. Presumably participants had time to dance!

But the birthday balls did have their critics. Georgia

Senator Eugene Talmadge dismissed them as a racket. William Dudley Pelly, leader of the neo-fascist Silver Shirts Legion, charged that the balls were a scam run by "Jim Farley's boys" with the profits going into Roosevelt's pockets.

The enormously productive March of Dimes arrived in 1939. Popular vaudeville and radio comedian Eddie Cantor, who coined the term, headed the first annual radio appeal. This single event raised nearly \$2 million. Contribution cans for dimes were passed among theatergoers, sports fans and at college dances—at every event or occasion where, as was printed on some cans, the "spirit of giving" could be tapped.

Remember, this unprecedented generosity was going on amidst traumatic economic hardship for millions of



The tab at the right is enlarged

... The ... PRESIDENT'S BIRTHDAY BALL



In Honor of

The Fifty-Sixth Anniversary of the Birth

— OF —

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

President of the United States

and for the Benefit of

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis

9 P. M., Saturday Evening, January 29, 1958, at the Following Hotels.

HAMILTON
MAYFLOWER

RALEIGH
SHOREHAM
WARDMAN PARK


WASHINGTON
WILLARD

Title page of 1938 program in Washington, D.C. birthday balls.



Drawing by Rollin Kirby used in NFIP advertising.

JOIN
THE MARCH OF DIMES
JANUARY 14-31



Send your dimes and dollars to
President Roosevelt
AT THE WHITE HOUSE

HOME AGAIN

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN BE PROUD of the job they are doing in their fight against infantile paralysis.

THEY CAN BE PROUD that, with their dimes and dollars for ammunition, many of the nation's finest scientists are waging constant war against the dread disease in more than 50 laboratories and institutions—war which will go on until the disease is completely conquered.

THEY CAN BE PROUD that they are giving every victim of infantile paralysis—regardless of age, race, creed or color—the chance to fight for recovery and the hope of going HOME AGAIN.

FIGHT INFANTILE PARALYSIS NOW

Full page advertisement in The New Masses, January, 30 1945.

"Fight Infantile Paralysis"

Franklin D. Roosevelt



It did not conquer him

Fund drive poster used in the early 1950s.



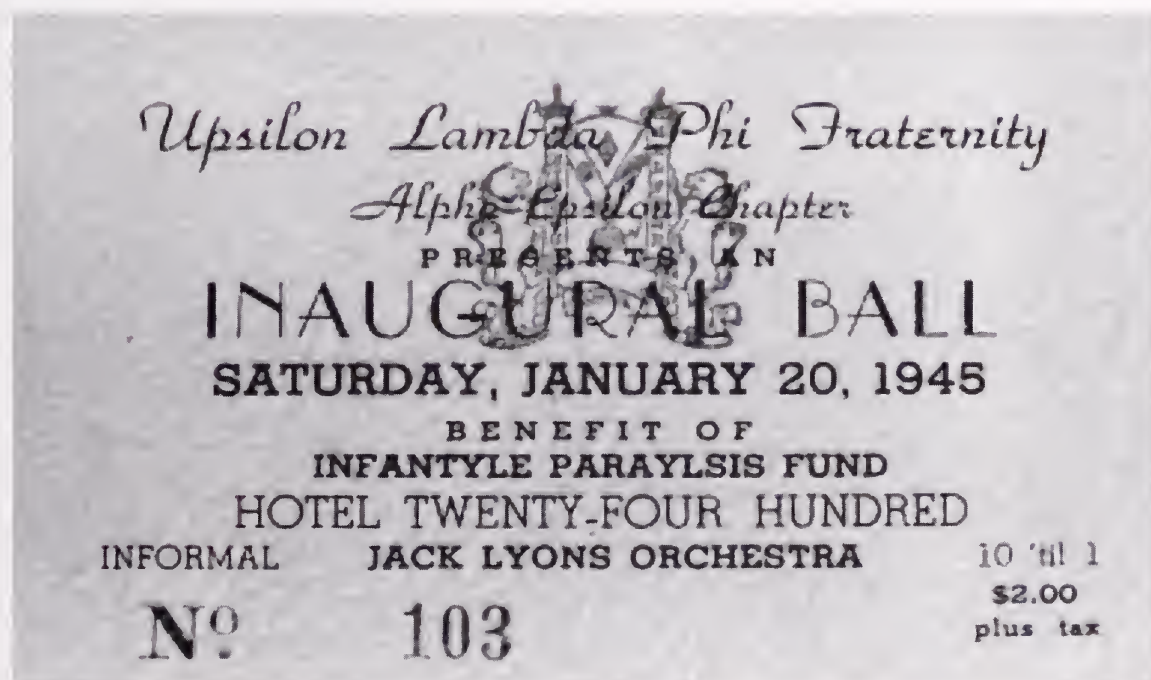
One of the 1952 set of gum cards depicting presidents. Interesting in that Roosevelt is shown not as the great leader of the free world but a champion of polio victims.



Illustrations from the 1938 birthday balls in Washington, D.C.



Examples of Birthday Ball items .
The above button is enlarged.



Americans. The March of Dimes was an extraordinary outpouring of grassroots support for polio victims and the best known victim of them all. Dimes, not votes, were being counted.

The advent of World War II did not stop the birthday balls nor lessen the generosity. More than \$5 million was grossed by the National Foundation in 1942, \$18 million in 1945! The first poster child appeared in 1942. He was four year-old native New Yorker Gerry King who was photographed with the President and movie star Dorothy Lamour. A tough combination to beat: a popular president, an appealing crippled child and a Hollywood beauty. "Doc" O'Connor's instincts always were on target. Also in 1942, Nancy Davis, a young movie actress, was featured in a Hollywood tear-jerker, "The Cripple".

On April 12, 1955, ten years from the day of Franklin Roosevelt's death (a coincidence, O'Connor always insisted, convincing no one), the National Foundation announced the successful testing of the Salk vaccine. Frequent acrimonious controversy over the vaccine's efficacy and internecine struggles among researchers and the National Foundation lay ahead. But poliomyelitis was conquered—at an estimated cost of \$25 million; 255 million dimes. Said Eleanor Roosevelt, "Franklin would have been pleased."★

AUTHOR'S NOTES

Although no member of my family was victimized by poliomyelitis, my closest boyhood friend wore a brace on one leg and shoe with a sole nearly four inches thick. Yet he was a star on our sandlot baseball team. I always wanted him on my side because his super-strong shoulders and good eye assured long base hits, even with me, the champion neighborhood slowpoke, running for him.

Both my wife and my sister-in-law were recipients of full tuition, unconditional scholarships from the National Foundation when they were senior undergraduate physical therapy majors in the early 1950s. Both expressed their gratitude by working in polio epidemics in Rockford, Illinois and Waco, Texas, respectively. My sister-in-law was the one thousandth recipient of a senior year scholarship, an event which warranted a special meeting with "Doc" O'Connor and national publicity for her and the NFIP.

The National Foundation gradually phased out its concentration on poliomyelitis and was reorganized as the March of Dimes National Birth Defects Foundation in 1979. The Georgia Warm Springs Foundation continues as a generalized medical treatment center for children and infants.

President Roosevelt's Warm Springs cottage is now the Little White House National Historic Site and is operated by the U.S. Department of the Interior, Department of Natural Resources.

A list of textual citations is available.

I am deeply indebted to Robert Rouse (APIC 1582) for his fine comprehensive account of Roosevelt's Warm Springs period and the birthday balls in the Spring/Summer 1983 *Keynoter*. Readers will appreciate that my article is somewhat of a personal statement, not solely an historical account. Both articles should be read together.

Recommended Reading:

Richard Goldberg, *The Making of Franklin Roosevelt: Triumph Over Disability*, 1981.

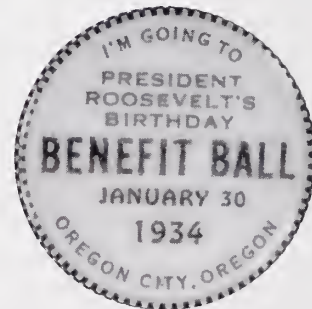
Jean Gould, *A Good Fight: FDR's Conquest of Polio*, 1960.

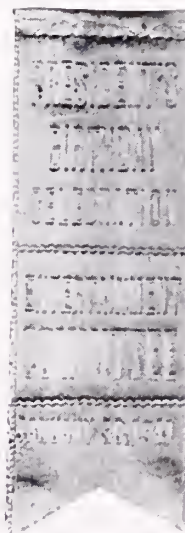
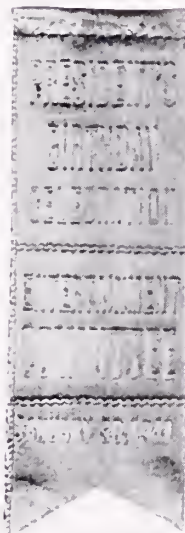
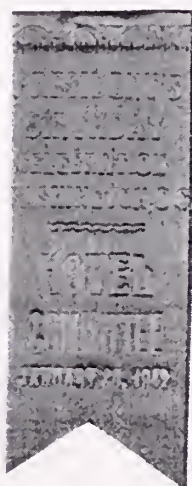
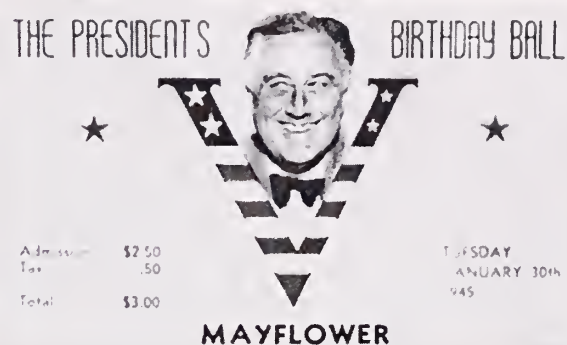
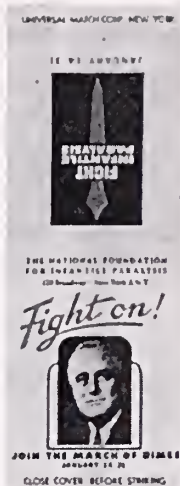
Theo Lippman, *The Squire of Warm Springs*, 1977.

John R. Paul, *A History of Poliomyelitis*, 1971.

Jane Smith, *Patenting the Sun: Polio and the Salk Vaccine*, 1990.

Dr. Edmund B. Sullivan (APIC 264) is professor of educational theory and curator of the DeWitt Collection at the University of Hartford. He authored *Collecting Political Americana* (Crown 1980) and *American Political Badges and Medalets* (Quarterman 1981) as well as co-authoring with Roger Fischer *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges* (Quarterman 1985).





APIC INTERN'S REPORT

By Steven J. Rouse

"...For the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men..." James Smithson

From July 10 through August 7, 1993 I lived at American University with hundreds of other students spending the summer in Washington, DC on various summer internship programs. I worked hard to adhere to the ideal embodied in the aforementioned quote while I served as the American Political Items Collectors 1993 Mark Jacobs' Memorial Smithsonian intern.

Upon my arrival at the National Museum of American History, I was welcomed by Larry Bird and the other curators and members of the Division of Political History. I was given an extensive tour of the public portion of the museum, as well as the storage areas that house the unseen majority of the Smithsonian's political collection. Larry Bird and Keith Melder explained the Smithsonian's elaborate filing system which tracks the location and condition of the objects in the collection to prepare me for my project.

After several days of familiarization, I was ready to begin my project: designing an exhibit on political exaggeration. The first step in designing the exhibit was to search through the Division's extensive collection of accessioned items photographs and select objects relevant to an exhibit on political exaggeration. Larry Bird and Keith Melder gave me great latitude in choosing objects I found interesting. The only criteria was that the objects had to have political humor or exaggeration. Sifting through the massive photographic file, which was far less substantial than the Division of Political History's entire collection, filled the first several days of my project.

The next task was to delve into storage facilities and look through the collection for other objects which contained elements of political exaggeration. This phase of my project was accomplished with two other political history interns who were developing separate projects that required similar sorting and selecting processes. Once appropriate objects were chosen, I shot Polaroid photographs so that they could be reviewed along with the xerox copies regarding usefulness for the exhibit.

Next, all the photos and xeroxes of the potential objects were gathered, the task of reducing the assemblage of items into an exhibitable number began. I sorted through the Polaroids and nearly one thousand xerox copies. I eliminated those objects that, although they contained political humor, could not be incorporated successfully into the project.

A majority of the items cut were political cartoons. Although many of them were quite humorous, there was simply not enough exhibit space to display all of them.



Steven J. Rouse

More appropriate than cartoons were three dimensional objects. As all collectors know, actual objects which incorporate political humor are much more difficult to find than the abundance of political cartoons which are drawn by the 100 plus political cartoonists employed by the nation's major newspapers. Objects capture the public's attention more readily than a series of framed cartoons.

Although removing most of the cartoons from consideration for the exhibit did focus me on a more manageable set of objects, further reduction was necessary before research and writing of the exhibit script could begin. This reduction was accomplished by focussing on the specific theme of economic humor. Money is the theme that unified all the items that made the final cut. It transcended American history and proved a very rich and useful motif.

The exhibit will contain many objects that require relatively little explanation, such as the oversized Lyndon Johnson "inflationary dollars" and the Ross Perot "Voodoo Economics, National Debt Charge Card." Other items however, particularly older pieces, required more narration in the exhibit script to be fully appreciated. To learn the background and context of these pieces I went to the National Museum of American History's internal library, as well as the Library of Congress. Exploring both of these environments was interesting, but the magnificence of the Library of Congress's architecture and collection are unmatched. The librarians at both

facilities are extremely knowledgeable and they helped me tremendously in my search for information.

After I worked through my collection of information, I began to write what is called the "exhibit script." The script is simply the story you tell about one object's relation to the other's and their significance in history. The primary challenge in devising a good script is condensing the wealth of information I found in the libraries into the number of words the public will read from start to finish. This proves extremely difficult when the significance behind exhibit items is complex. The irony, of course, is that the most interesting pieces are always the ones with the largest stories behind them. Although I had selected several dozen items for the exhibit, the bulk of the script is devoted to pieces from three different eras: Anti-Andrew Jackson/Pro-National Bank tokens; William Jennings Bryan Anti-Free Silver Coins (i.e., Bryan money); and an Anti-FDR/WPA outhouse. With the help of my research materials, knowledge of United States history, and assistance from both Dr. Keith Melder and Larry Bird, I wrote the tentative exhibit script and integrated it with the binder of xerox copies and Polaroid photographs.

The exhibit's design is very much preliminary and the final product will not be on display until revisions are made and the 1996 elections arrive, but I gained invaluable experience and knowledge working at the National Museum of American History and I think I produced a good product.

I wish to extend my sincerest thanks to the APIC and Mr. Larry Bird for offering the internship, as well as to Mr. Joe Jacobs and many other generous members of APIC for funding the internship. I would also like to thank Dr. Keith Melder, whose support and hospitality, along with that of the entire Division of Political History, made my experience infinitely better and absolutely unforgettable.★

GAR (con't from page 24)

The variations that one finds in the GAR badges are a result, in my opinion, of several factors. Most obvious are the rigid rules regarding the metal composition. Clearly there were a finite number of bronze cannon captured from the Southern Armies in decisive battles. One speculates that the GAR started to have trouble in meeting the requirements of their Rules and Regulations during the greatest growth period of the Organization. They required every Comrade to have a badge and the badge had become an important symbol of identification. The more badges needed and the more important they became, the fewer bronze "cannon captured in decisive battles" remained. My inquiries lead me to believe that by the early 1880's brass cannon, *per se*, may no longer have been available. One wonders why the leadership was not able to be more open.

I suggest that the badge had become so important as a symbol of "belonging" to this powerful organization that the leadership was afraid to admit that the newer badges were not as worthwhile as the earlier versions.

As charged, there may well have been some self serving dealings in awarding the contracts. 150,000 medals manufactured in a two year period, at 35 cents a piece, is a very sizeable plum tree, that could have readily lead to temptation, in terms of 1880 dollars.

Grand Army of the Republic Badges

The "official" description of this badge is found in the Proceedings of the Fourth National Convention of the Grand Army of the Republic. It reads as follows:

"DESCRIPTION OF THE BADGE.

"The badge is of bronze, made from cannon captured in different decisive battles during the late rebellion, in the form of a five-pointed star, similar in design to the two hundred medals of honor authorized by act of Congress to be given to soldiers and sailors most distinguished for meritorious and gallant conduct during the late war.

"The design, as here given, and adopted by the Grand Army of the Republic, was arranged by General F.A. Starring, Inspector General of the Order, and is described as follows:

"*The Obverse*.—In the center of the badge is a figure of the Goddess of Liberty, representing Loyalty; on the other side a soldier and sailor clasping hands, representing Fraternity, and two little children receiving benediction and assurance of protection from the Comrades, etc., representing Charity. On each side of the group is the national flag and the eagle, representing Freedom, and the axe and a bundle of rods, or fasces, representing Union. In each point of the star is the insignia of the various arms of the service, viz: the *bugle* for Infantry, *cross cannon* for Artillery, *cross musket* for the Marine, *cross swords* for Cavalry, and the *anchor* for Sailors. Over the central group are the words 'Grand Army of the Republic,' and under, the words and figures '1861-Veteran-1866,' commemorating the commencement and close of the rebellion, and also the date and organization of the Order.

"*The Reverse Side* represents a branch of Laurel- the crown and the reward of the brave- in each point of the star. The national shield in the center, surrounded by the twenty-four recognized Corps badges numerically arranged, each on a keystone, and all linked together, showing that they are united, and will guard and protect the shield of the nation. Around the center, is a circle of stars, representing the States of the Union and the Departments composing the Grand Army of the Republic.

"*The Clasp* is composed of the figure of an eagle, with cross cannon and ammunition, representing Defense; the eagle with drawn sword hovering over and always ready to protect from insult or dishonor the national flag, which is also the emblem and ribbon of the order."★

Respectfully Dedicated to His Excellency,
JOHN P. ALTGELD,

Governor of the State of Illinois.



Our Governor's March

FOR PIANO-FORTE.

By GEORGE STAHL.



Benj. W. Hitchcock

385 Sixth Ave,
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